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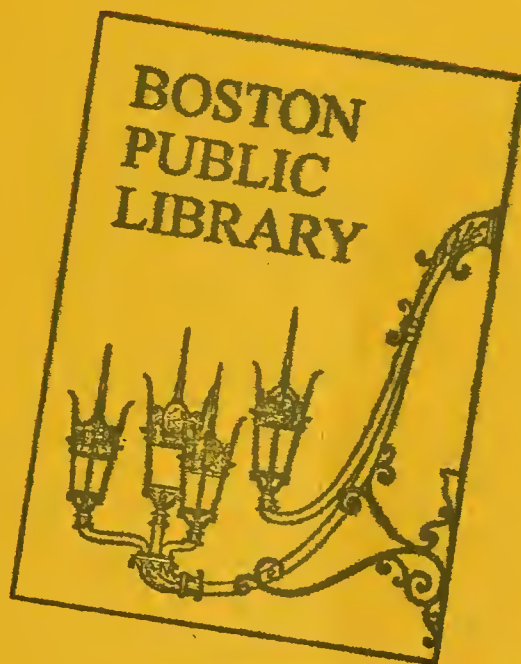
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H.B. Final figures are now
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ANALYSIS OF PRELIMINARY CENSUS DATA
ON POPULATION AND HOUSING (1950-1970)

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Planning Department Staff

FROM: Dale Coxe

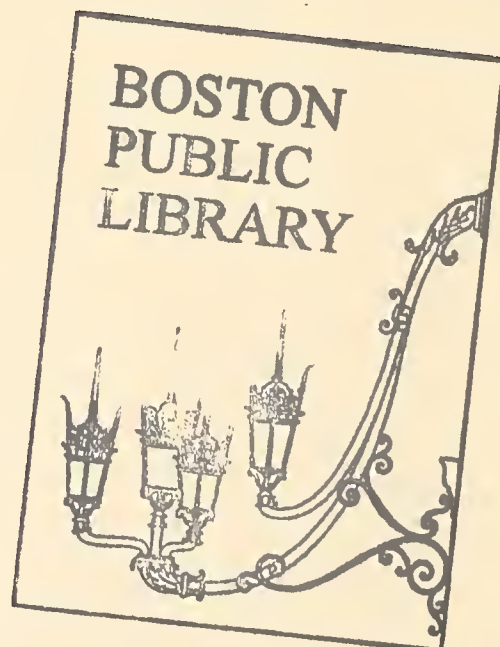
SUBJECT: REPORT OF PRELIMINARY CENSUS DATA ON POPULATION AND HOUSING (1950-1970)

Attached is a copy of a report on preliminary census data prepared by Gritti Haumont. As the report states, at the time of this writing, only gross totals by planning districts were available from the Census and thus, a more detailed analysis was impossible at this time. We will, however, as part of the Advanced Planning Division's city-wide housing study, be preparing more detailed analyses of census information as soon as it is available. Such reports will be distributed to all staff members.

If you have any questions regarding the attached report, please see either Gritti or me.

DC:ead

Attachment



**ANALYSIS OF PRELIMINARY CENSUS DATA
ON POPULATION AND HOUSING (1950-1970)**

APRIL 1971



Boston Redevelopment Authority

Planning Department

Advanced Planning





PREFACE

The purpose of this report is to describe by planning district some findings related to population and housing which were determined from comparisons of 1970 Census data with similar 1960 and 1950 census statistics. Districts experiencing significant gains and losses of population and housing are discussed in detail and both housing and population statistics are related to findings regarding number of persons per unit.

The 1970 data described in this report is extremely general. At the time of this writing, only gross totals by planning districts were available from the Census, and thus, a more detailed analysis was impossible at this time. It is expected, however, that as more detailed census information becomes available the Advanced Planning Division, as part of its housing study, will be preparing specific monographs on housing and population characteristics.

Briefly, the following report describes in more detail the data outlined below:

1. Eleven of the fourteen planning districts experienced 20 year population losses; five of these eleven areas-- South End, Central, Charlestown, Washington Park, and South Boston-- showed very substantial decreases ranging from approximately 63% to 32% of their total population.
2. The population loss for the City as a whole totaled 22% of the population for the twenty year period--a decrease from approximately 800,000 persons in 1950 to 642,000 persons in 1970. This decrease was larger, however, in the fifties than it was in the sixties.



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3. Over the twenty year period, the City gained 6% in dwelling units or from about 222,000 units to 235,000 units.
4. Among the districts losing housing units, the five districts which had the heaviest losses in population still rank among the first districts losing housing units.
5. The number of persons per housing unit has constantly dropped over the twenty year period-- from 3.6 persons in 1950, to 2.9 persons in 1960, to 2.7 persons in 1970.
6. It appears that the population, though smaller in number, has tended to spread out into additional available units--perhaps as a consequence of upgraded jobs, income and related population composition.

I. POPULATION

Since 1950 many of the City's planning districts have suffered large population losses. For the City as a whole, this loss totaled 21.5% of the population for the twenty year period--a decrease from 801,444 persons in 1950 to 641,071 persons in 1970. This downward trend, however, was stronger in the fifties, with a population loss of 13.8% than in the sixties, when the population decreased by only 8.9%. After a strong decrease in the 1950's and the early 1960's it is possible that the level of population has begun to stabilize, perhaps as a reflection of the upgrading of Boston's economic situation. (i. e. in terms of jobs, production levels, etc.)

A. Losses

Among the fourteen planning districts, eleven experienced 20-year population losses; however, five of them showed very significant decreases. These are: The South End, Central, Charlestown, Washington Park, and South Boston.

- a) The South End, with a 1950 - 1970 loss of 60.5% of its total population, ranks first among all districts losing population. This population loss occurred mainly after 1960 in contrast to the general trend in the city which, as described above, shows a lessening of population decrease in later years. Two reasons for this large decrease may be a slowing down of black in-migration since 1960, and conversely, a lack of employment opportunities encouraging some population outflow.

- b) The Central planning district, which ranked first among the districts losing population in the 1950's with a loss of 46%, reduced its loss in the 1960's to 25%, thus following the general trend for the City as a whole.
- c) Charlestown ranked third - both in the 1950's and 1960's - in losses. These losses for the 20 year period (51.8%) amounted to half of its total population. More specifically, Charlestown now represents only 2.3% of the total Boston population, instead of the 4% which it held in the 1950's. This loss is due in part to an out-migration of families, and to the changes related to the Charlestown urban renewal project.
- d) Washington Park, in a manner similar to the South End, did not follow the general trend. Instead of reducing the loss of population (23%) which occurred in the 1950's, the population continued to decrease, by another 26.5%, in the 1960's. Thus, the area's share of Boston's population dropped from 15% to 11% over the 20 year period. This decrease has been largely caused by a continuous exodus of middle class income groups, which, in turn, has greatly altered the racial composition of the area.
- e) South Boston lost 31.9% of its population in the same 20 year period, but its share of Boston's population decreased by only 1%; that is, it represented 7% of Boston's inhabitants in 1950, and 6% in 1970. This district declined steadily through substantial out-migration, without important in-migration from any ethnic group, and remained very homogenous.

In addition to the five planning districts noted above, six other areas lost population. These were: East Boston, Jamaica Plain, Fenway-Kenmore, Dorchester, and Back Bay. Their decreases, however, were not as significant as those losses described above.

We can consider East Boston (with a population loss of 25%) as following the average loss trend of the various districts which experienced some population decrease. However, one of these six districts, Back Bay, stands out in sharp contrast to these other areas. After a sharp drop (about 12% of its population) in the 1950's, Back Bay increased its population by almost the same percentage in the following 10 year period. Thus, the total amount of population loss for the Back Bay district was only 1% for these twenty years. This stabilization can be explained by the substantial influx of students, who have counter-balanced the out-migration of other age and income groups.

B. Gains

Among areas which gained some degree of population for the twenty year period, Roslindale experienced a trend similar to that of the Back Bay in that it gained 4.8% in population-- only slightly more people than it lost (4.5%) for the 20 year period. This gain, which occurred in the 1950's is most likely due to its geographical position as a part of Boston's suburban area, and to its attractive residential characteristics. However, by 1960 the area's population increase had stabilized - perhaps due to a lack of remaining developable land for single family purposes - and West Roxbury and Hyde Park had become more attractive as new residential areas.

Thus, West Roxbury's population increased about 10% in the fifties and another 20% in the sixties, while Hyde Park maintained a constant percentage of about 14%. These two districts are actually the only areas to show any significant gains in population, increasing continuously over the past twenty years. Their percentage of gains for this period are very close (29.5% for Hyde Park and 31.7% for West Roxbury) and may have been influenced by similar factors. That is, they have been growing rapidly as residential sections of Boston and receiving a high number of families with children.

II. HOUSING

If we consider the changes in the number of housing units in the City of Boston as a whole, there is a significant difference between the 1950's and the 1960's. During the 1950-1960 period only four districts, Central, South Boston, Washington Park, South Boston, lost units, with a loss rate of about 7%, while the remaining 11 districts gained an additional 1% to 63% in housing units. These gains show an increase in units of some 7.5% for the City as a whole for this first period, or from 222,079 units to 238,816 units. During the sixties, however, this trend was reversed as seven districts lost units while the gain in units for any one district did not exceed 29%. The decrease, however, amounted to only 1.4% for the entire city, thus placing the twenty year average at +6%, an increase from 222,079 units to 235,445 units.

A. Losses

It is interesting to note that the districts which lost housing units include the same areas which experienced losses in population, that is,

the five districts which had the heaviest losses in population still rank among the first districts losing housing units.

- a) For the 1950-1970 year period, Charlestown, which as earlier discussed showed a large population decrease, ranks first with a loss of 26% of its housing stock. This decrease is most likely due to significant deterioration among its existing dwelling units and to demolition of units through renewal activities.
- b) The South End, which lost 60.5% of its population in the twenty year period, follows Charlestown in housing losses with a total loss in housing units of 25%. In the 1950's the South End showed the second best gain in units (36%). However, this trend was reversed in the 1960's and it ranked first in losses from 1960 to 1970 with a huge 45% loss of its dwelling units. Again a substantial amount of this loss may be attributed to large amounts of deterioration, demolition, and renewal activities.
- c) Washington Park and the Central Districts also followed the trend established in Charlestown with a loss which was twice as large in the sixties (16% for Washington Park and 13.6% for Central) as it was in the previous ten years (6.8% and 7.8% respectively). Washington Park, which lost about 22% of its units, represented only 11% of Boston's housing stock in 1970 instead of the 15% which it had held in 1950. It is interesting to note that these percentages correspond exactly with those for its population loss in the twenty year period. The Central District which also represented comparative percentages of population and units of Boston in 1950, had its share of population reduced to 2.4% of the city total, while its

housing units still represent 3.6% of the units in Boston.

While some districts, as described above, experienced large decreases in numbers of housing units, several other areas--while showing some losses--experienced less significant changes. These areas include East Boston which experienced a gain of 0.3% between 1950 and 1960 and a 2% loss in the 1960-1970 period, and South Boston which showed a loss of 4% in the 1950-1960 period and a further loss of only 2% in 1960-1970.

B. Gains

Some other areas increased slightly but steadily including Jamaica Plain (approximately 4% in each 10 year period), Dorchester (approximately 6% in each ten year period), and Allston-Brighton (approximately 10% and 9% respectively).

Districts showing very large gains for the two decades include Roslindale (24%), West Roxbury (51%), Hyde Park (56%), and Back Bay (70.8%). Even when these districts experienced a large growth of population as did Hyde Park and West Roxbury, the number of dwelling units increased more rapidly than population over the twenty year period. This fact is also true for Roslindale and Back Bay, which did not gain or lose a significant proportion of their population, but experienced during the same period a big increase in their housing stock.

Back Bay, for example, showed the highest gain in housing units among the districts in the 1950's (42.7%) followed by the third highest gain in the 1960's (19.7%). This great increase might be due to the student influx and to a considerable number of housing conversions (i. e., one large unit converted into 2 or 3 smaller units).

If we look at the changes in population in relation to changes in housing units, we can see that in some cases the flow of out-migration can be related to the evolution in the housing stock. For instance, it is possible that Charlestown's main cause for the drop in population is the decrease in housing units (when Charlestown lost one unit, it lost 3.9 persons, between 1960-1970). In most of the cases, however, there is no direct relation between the loss in people and the area's changes in its housing stock. For example, during the 1960-1970 period, while Dorchester gained 2,809 units, it lost 7,335 persons. Thus the gain in dwelling units did not prevent the loss of population from other causes. A similar example is found in South Boston which lost 20.6 persons for each unit lost in the 1960-1970 period.

III. PERSONS PER HOUSING UNITS

The number of persons per housing unit has constantly dropped in the last twenty years. The average number of persons per unit for Boston was 3.6 persons in 1950, 2.9 persons in 1960, and 2.7 persons in 1970. This decrease in persons per unit is most likely related to the fact that the losses in population have almost always been greater than those in housing, and the gains in units greater than the gains in people (with the exception of the South End and Kenmore in the 1960's). Thus it would appear that the population, even though smaller in number, has tended to spread out into the additional available units--perhaps made possible through an upgrading of jobs, income and related population composition--and overcrowding has consequently been reduced.

Some districts have closely followed the average rate of persons per unit. These include East Boston, South Boston, and Washington Park.

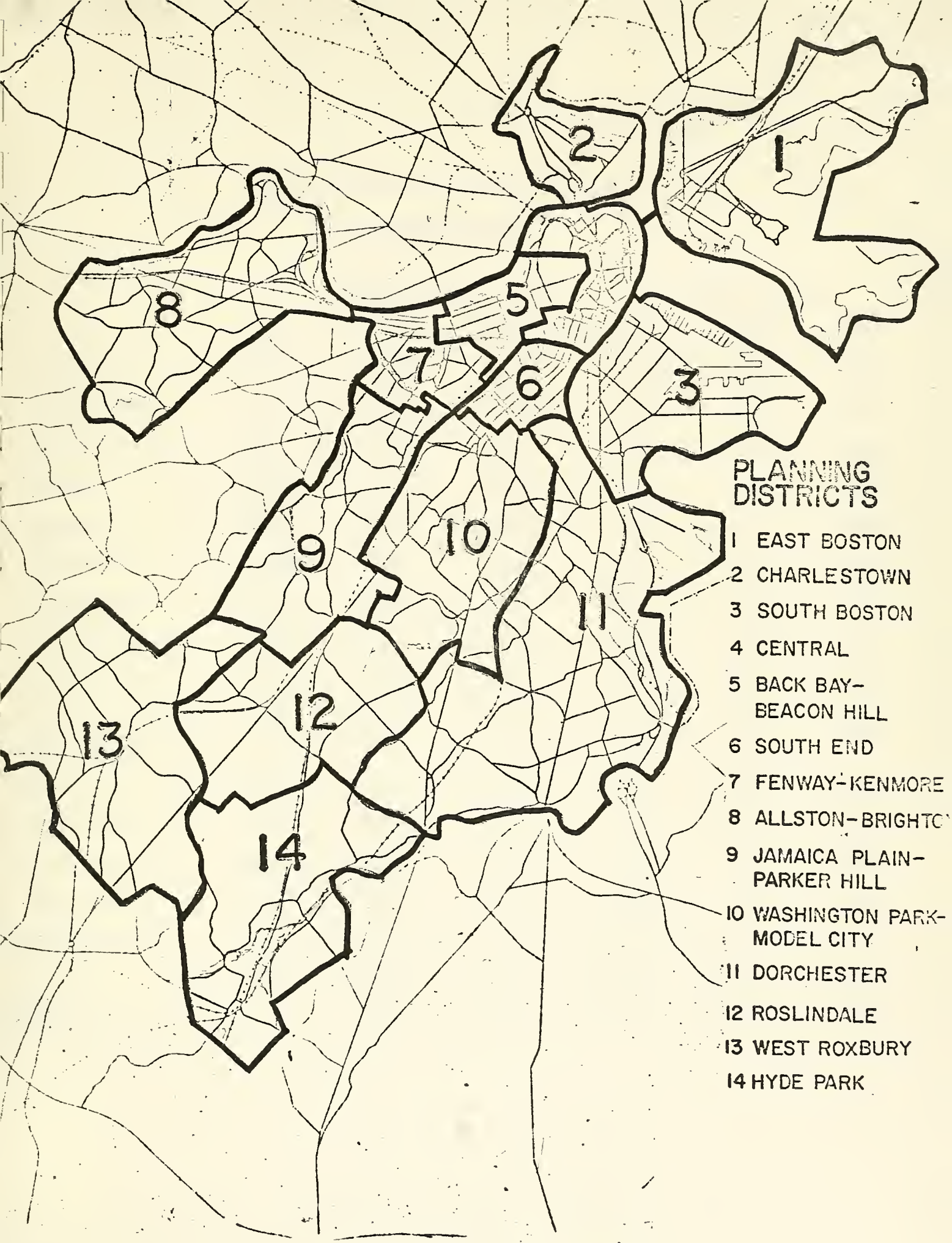
In contrast, however, the South End experienced an unusually large drop in the number of persons per unit between 1950 and 1960, (3.7 persons to 1.7 persons) perhaps due to a gain of 36% in units and to a drop of 39% in persons. In the 1960's the South End regained 0.3 persons per unit and at the same time lost more units than persons. In 1970, however, this district still ranks below the City average with 2.0 persons per unit versus 2.7 for the City as a whole.

Charlestown had, for the same reasons, a big decrease between 1950 and 1970 in the number of persons per unit. However, its previous rate, 4.5 persons per unit, was much higher than the city average (only 3.6). After this drop, its rate (2.9) was only slightly higher than the average rate.

IV. CONCLUSION: SOME HYPOTHESES

The data discussed above indicate a strong and continuous out-migration of Boston population--however, information from preliminary 1970 Census counts show that the population has stabilized and may begin to show a modest growth. This drop in persons does not seem to be directly related to changes occurring in the City's housing stock. Even in planning districts where the number of units increased, the gain in population remains lower than what we could expect if the previous occupancy rates (i. e., number of persons per unit) had remained stable. This leads us to suppose that either the characteristics of people currently in-migrating

are different from those of the out-migrating population (most likely the in-migrants consist of smaller families), or the types of structures housing the new dwelling units are different from those which have been demolished. These two facts are not contradictory and, in fact, probably reinforce each other. At any rate, while it is clear that occupancy rates have been reduced, it remains unclear as to whether an increase, even a significant one, in the number of dwelling units, would be followed by a parallel increase in the population. It is in fact more likely that the characteristics of Boston's population are changing. A more detailed analysis of anticipated 1970 Census data should answer such questions.



PLANNING DISTRICTS

- 1 EAST BOSTON
- 2 CHARLESTOWN
- 3 SOUTH BOSTON
- 4 CENTRAL
- 5 BACK BAY-
BEACON HILL
- 6 SOUTH END
- 7 FENWAY-KENMORE
- 8 ALLSTON-BRIGHTON
- 9 JAMAICA PLAIN-
PARKER HILL
- 10 WASHINGTON PARK-
MODEL CITY
- 11 DORCHESTER
- 12 ROSLINDALE
- 13 WEST ROXBURY
- 14 HYDE PARK

TABLE 1

1950-1970 POPULATION AND HOUSING UNITS

BY PLANNING DISTRICTS

	<u>Population</u>			<u>Housing Units</u>		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
1. East Boston	51152	43809	38136	13943	13989	13727
2. Charlestown	31332	20167	15075	6957	6440	5132
3. South Boston	55670	63959	37911	15178	14555	14259
4. Central	38381	20681	15737	10612	9782	8455
5. Back Bay	28150	24939	27835	9188	13111	15695
6. South End	57218	35002	22605	15356	20849	11551
7. F. Kenmore	36649	32963	33185	13082	15049	14885
8. Allston-Brighton	67102	64207	63522	21314	23452	25447
9. Jamaica Plain	58015	53568	47542	15628	16303	17008
10. Washington Park/ Model Cities	121828	93777	68967	33628	31153	26159
11. Dorchester	162090	155836	148501	43446	46292	49101
12. Roslindale	37036	38825	37063	9238	10233	11448
13. West Roxbury	25660	28098	33799	7087	8319	10700
14. Hyde Park	29107	32995	37570	7598	9269	11847
Planning Districts Totals	799300	688806	627448	222065	238796	235414
City Total (+ Harbor Islands)	801444	698081	641071	222079	238816	235445

Source: 1950, 1960, and 1970 Census Data.

TABLE 2

CHANGES IN POPULATION

BETWEEN 1950-1960-1970 (in %)

<u>1950 - 1960</u>			<u>1960 - 1970</u>		<u>1950 - 1970</u>	
1.	Central	-46.1	South End	-35.4	South End	-60.5
2.	South End	-38.8	W. Park	-26.5	Central	-58.9
3.	Charlestown	-35.7	Charlestown	-25.2	Charlestown	-51.8
4.	Washington Park/ Model Cities	-23.0	Central	-23.9	Washington Park	-63.4
5.	South Boston	-21.0	South Boston	-13.7	South Boston	-31.9
6.	East Boston	-14.3	East Boston	-12.9	East Boston	-25.4
7.	Back Bay	-11.4	Jamaica Plain	-11.2	Jamaica Plain	-18.0
8.	F. Kenmore	-10.1	Dorchester	- 4.7	F. Kenmore	- 9.5
9.	Jamaica Plain	- 7.7	Roslindale	- 4.5	Dorchester	- 8.4
10.	Allston-Brighton	-4.3	Allston-Brighton	- 1.1	Allston-Brighton	- 5.3
11.	Dorchester	- 3.8	F. Kenmore	+ 0.7	Back Bay	- 1.1
12.	Roslindale	+ 4.8	Back Bay	+11.6	Roslindale	+ 0.1
13.	West Roxbury	+ 9.5	Hyde Park	+13.9	Hyde Park	+29.5
14.	Hyde Park	+13.7	West Roxbury	+20.3	West Roxbury	+31.7
Planning Districts						
Total		-13.8		- 8.9		-21.5

TABLE 3

CHANGES IN HOUSING UNITS
BETWEEN 1950-1960-1970 (in %)

<u>1950 - 1960</u>			<u>1960 - 1970</u>		<u>1950 - 1970</u>	
1.	Central	- 7.8	South End	-44.6	Charlestown	-26.2
2.	Charlestown	- 7.4	Charlestown	-20.3	South End	-24.8
3.	Washington Park/ Model Cities	- 6.8	Washington Park	-16.0	Washington Park	-21.7
4.	South Boston	- 4.1	Central	-13.6	Central	-20.3
5.	East Boston	+ 0.3	South Boston	- 2.0	South Boston	- 6.0
6.	Jamaica Plain	+ 4.3	East Boston	- 1.9	East Boston	- 1.5
7.	Dorchester	+ 6.5	F. Kenmore	- 1.1	Jamaica Plain	+ 8.8
8.	Allston-Brighton	+10.0	Jamaica Plain	+ 4.3	Dorchester	+13.0
9.	F. Kenmore	+15.0	Dorchester	+ 6.1	F. Kenmore	+13.8
10.	Roslindale	+10.8	Allston-Brighton	+ 8.5	Allston-Brighton	+19.3
11.	West Roxbury	+17.4	Roslindale	+11.9	Roslindale	+23.8
12.	Hyde Park	+22.0	Back Bay	+19.7	West Roxbury	+50.9
13.	South End	+35.8	Hyde Park	+27.8	Hyde Park	+55.9
14.	Back Bay	+42.7	West Roxbury	+28.6	Back Bay	+70.8
Planning Districts						
Total		+ 7.5			- 1.4	+ 6

TABLE 4

CHANGES IN NUMBER OF PERSONS
PER HOUSING UNITS-1950-1960-1970

<u>1950</u>			<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>	
1.	Charlestown	4.5	Roslindale	3.8	Roslindale	3.2
2.	Roslindale	4.0	Hyde Park	3.6	Hyde Park	3.2
3.	Hyde Park	3.8	Dorchester	3.4	West Roxbury	3.2
4.	Dorchester	3.7	West Roxbury	3.4	Dorchester	3.0
5.	Jamaica Plain	3.7	Jamaica Plain	3.3	Charlestown	2.9
6.	South End	3.7	Charlestown	3.1	Jamaica Plain	2.8
7.	South Boston	3.7	East Boston	3.1	East Boston	2.8
8.	East Boston	3.7	South Boston	3.0	South Boston	2.7
9.	Central	3.6	Washington Park	3.0	Washington Park	2.6
10.	Washington Park	3.6	Allston-Brighton	2.7	Allston-Brighton	2.5
11.	West Roxbury	3.6	F. Kenmore	2.2	F. Kenmore	2.2
12.	Back Bay	3.1	Back Bay	1.9	Central	1.9
13.	Allston-Brighton	3.1	Central	2.1	South End	2.0
14.	F. Kenmore	2.8	South End	1.7	Back Bay	1.8

Planning District

Total	3.6	2.9	2.7
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(in number of persons by unit)

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